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Georgia's Bicentennial County Histories: The Present in the Past.

David B. Parker

On August 23, 1929, Georgia's General Assembly approved a resolution calling on each of the state's counties to compile its history for the upcoming bicentennial (1933, two hundred years after the founding of Georgia in 1733), "so as to perpetuate for our posterity and the records of the State and Nation the facts of the evolutions and progress of the commonwealth." The resolution, introduced by Representative James Hamilton Boykin (Lincolnton), noted that the state had made "no provision . . . to celebrate and memorialize the momentous establishment of the colony and subsequent sovereign State," and it therefore called on the grand jury of each county to appoint a historian to compile "a history of the formation, development, and progress of said county from its creation up to that date, together with accounts of such persons, families, and public events as have given character and fame to the county, the State, and the Nation." The histories were to be deposited in the state's Department of Archives and History by February 12 (Georgia Day), 1933.¹

Three years later, in 1932, the state finally began making plans to "celebrate and memorialize" the bicentennial in style. A Bicentennial Commission was established, led by Savannah newspaper editor Pleasant Stovall and with promoter A. A. Rogers, a protégé of P. T. Barnum, as "Director of Celebration." The bicentennial year of 1933 would feature hundreds of pageants, essay contests, sermons and speeches, books, Wedgewood plates, and more. But in the summer of 1929, Representative Boykin was one of the few people in Georgia thinking of such matters. Sam Small, former evangelist and prohibition activist, appreciated the legislator's "happy inspiration" and said that other Georgians should as well: "The history of such a people, their great sons and daughters and great deeds of patriotism, statesmanship and material progress as co-makers of a new order of civilization, should not remain longer in ragged and jeopardous forms."²

County histories had existed long before Boykin introduced his resolution in 1929. There was a considerable bump in their production in the late nineteenth century, especially in the 1870s, when Congress called for such histories as part of the national centennial.³ A similar increase in the 1970s coincided with the U.S. bicentennial celebration. In the early twentieth century, New York and Indiana established formal positions of “county historians,” but at least in the beginning these positions seemed to be aimed more at preserving historical records than at publication.⁴ While Georgia was not alone in the appointment of county historians and the compiling and writing of county histories, its bicentennial project is worthy of study.

Writing over a century ago, William MacDonald wrote that “in no class of historical material, perhaps, is there greater variation in quality, method, and permanent value” than in local histories. Many, he noted, “are little more than aggregations of material, thrown together with little skill or intelligence, the work of compilers with more zeal than discernment; yet preserving in their ill-printed pages a priceless wealth of data, tradition, formal record, or documents.... Not even the worst of them ... can be neglected, or fails to include much that posterity ought to know.”⁵ This is certainly true of Georgia’s county histories. For us as historians, however, perhaps the greatest significance of Georgia’s county histories is not as history books, but as primary sources, a way of getting at certain aspects of life and thought in the 1930s--race relations, the pervasiveness of the Lost Cause, the role of religion and organizations, the importance of local “heroes,” and so forth. This essay will describe the bicentennial histories and the historians who wrote them, and it will suggest that they tell us as much about the 1930s as they do about the history of Georgia counties.

Of Georgia’s 159 counties, 102 followed the legislative directive in Boykin’s resolution and named an official historian. Four decades after the bicentennial, an official with the Georgia Department of Natural Resources looked back at those historians. “Seems like the little old lady school teacher who needed extra money for retirement and had political connections got the job,” he wrote, at least somewhat tongue in cheek. “No emphasis on qualifications, just her popularity, interest or need.”⁶ But a quick study shows the historians to have been both more varied and more qualified than this. A number of them were male. Alexander McQueen, Charlton County historian, was county attorney for Charlton and city attorney for Folkston. As a soldier in World War I, he had contracted influenza, which led to bronchitis and loss of a leg due to a blood clot. McQueen was author of *Georgia Justices Hand Book*

and *The History of Okefenokee Swamp*, as well as a number of magazine articles. Warren Ward (Coffee County) and William Fleming (Crisp) were county ordinaries. Clifford Smith (Troup) and Victor Davidson (Wilkinson) were school superintendents.⁷

Lloyd Marlin, a Methodist minister and school teacher, had lived in Cherokee County for only a year when he was appointed historian in March 1931. J. B. Clements, Irwin County historian, was a school board member, a county court judge, and a member of both the Georgia House and Senate. He claimed to be the first native of Irwin County to get a college diploma. Luke Tate, author of the Pickens County history, was a lawyer, banker, and businessman in the Tate (Georgia Marble Company) family. John William Baker taught for a couple of years--1879 and 1888. He was a surveyor, clerk of superior court, and clerk of the county board of commissioners. But he was proudest of establishing the first cannery in Hart County. William Alonzo Covington represented Colquitt County in the General Assembly, where he co-authored the Prohibition law of 1907 and the bill that ended convict leasing in 1908. Walter G. Cooper, Fulton County historian, worked at both the *Atlanta Constitution* and *Journal*, wrote a four-volume history of Georgia, and was secretary of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce for seventeen years.⁸

There were of course women involved. Bertha Sheppard Hart held a master's degree and had written, a dozen years before her history of Laurens County, *Introduction to Georgia Writers* (1929). Nettie Powell, of Marion County, had a bachelor's degree from University of Chicago and had done graduate work in American history there. She taught at colleges in Mississippi, Virginia, and Georgia (LaGrange). Evelyn Hannah decided to dramatize the lives of such people as she wrote about as co-author of the Upson County history; her two novels, *Blackberry Winter* (1938) and *Sugar in the Gourd* (1942), were popular and well-received. For several years in the mid-1940s, she wrote a weekly column in the *Atlanta Constitution*. A few years after completing her history of Macon County, Louise Frederick Hays became the third director of the Georgia's Department of Archives and History.⁹

Sarah Gober Temple's history of Cobb County was among the best. She had worked in "publicity and social service work" in New York, and then with the Red Cross in the Southwest, before returning to Marietta. An unsigned notice in the *Atlanta Constitution* described her book as "a scholarly history of the county written after five years of research," but identified her only as "Mrs. Mark Temple," "the wife of a well-known newspaperman, Mark Temple, of the Associated Press Atlanta staff." Ralph McGill, in a signed review, also

called her “Mrs. Mark Temple.”¹⁰ Despite this slight, county historians hardly matched the “little old lady school teacher who needed extra money for retirement” stereotype.

Many county historians were appointed, but relatively few county histories were actually produced, and fewer than three dozen were published.¹¹ (A small number were deposited in manuscript form in the state archives or local libraries.) The histories themselves were about as varied as were the historians who wrote them. The published histories tended to be long, averaging nearly 500 pages. Schley County’s, the shortest, was 33 pages, and Upson’s, the longest, was 1122. Many of those pages consisted of census records, military rosters, lists of county officials, reprints of newspaper articles, and the like. The books often contained pleasant descriptions of what life was like in the old days. Over a quarter of them mention log-rolling as a common antebellum social event. Many of the histories had a lengthy biographical section, with histories of prominent individuals or families.

The authors of *Nearby History* noted that the county histories produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were “long on local pride and short on critical observations.”¹² Georgia’s bicentennial county histories were certainly proud. The title page of the Coffee County volume explained that the book was “a story ... showing that Coffee County, in South Georgia, is God’s Country and a good place to live in 1930.” Residents of Walker County were “a hardy, brave and patriotic citizenry”; of Chattahoochee, “splendid men and women ... whose lives are a credit to the civilization of America.” In the Civil War, “no community could boast of more loyalty to the Southern cause” and no southerners “were braver and more loyal than the sons of old Irwin [County].”¹³

Some books manifested this pride through poetry. Chattahoochee’s opened with a poem by Mrs. Mary W. Miller:

Oh, Chattahoochee, who has loved one little field of thine,
’Twill make him pause and dream of thee when hills of glory shine,
And who has known thy winding roads and thro’ them loved to stray
Will praise thee in a fairer scene along life’s broad highway.

And so on, for eight more lines.¹⁴

“Across the Hills to Gordon,” a poem by Gordon native Lawson A. Fields, graces the history of that county:

Across the hills to Gordon, where the Oostanaula flows
From the wild Cohutta mountains toward the sea,
Adown a hundred valleys, where the weeping-willow grows,

Together with the oak and maple tree.¹⁵

Residents of Hart County, the only Georgia county named for a woman, were proud of their connection to Nancy Hart, the Revolutionary War heroine (who actually lived in a neighboring county). The county history has a ten-page section on Nancy, as well as a poem, “Our Nancy Hart”:

Time has rolled the season around,
When in our midst we hear the sound
Of her, who is most beautiful and smart,
Whose name we call Our Nancy Hart.¹⁶

The books were “long on local pride,” but were they “short on critical observations”? In one sense, this is perhaps an unfair question, as few of the authors had formal training in the discipline of history or the methods of historical research and writing. The expectation was that they would compile (and thereby preserve) facts rather than critically analyze them. There was a general lack of financial resources; a few counties approved appropriations to help fund histories, but most county governments were hesitant to commit public money to such projects during the Depression years.¹⁷ Given all this, plus the short time allotted for the production of these histories and the difficulty of accessing good primary sources (this was before digitized databases, the World Wide Web, and even microfilmed newspapers), one can hardly criticize the authors for not producing critical monographs.

On the other hand, we might reasonably examine the extent to which the county historians uncritically reflected the ideas of their time and place. For example, their approach to slavery often looked more like *Gone with the Wind* (Margaret Mitchell was working on the manuscript for her novel at the same time that the county historians were writing their histories) than our current understanding of the South’s peculiar institution. This should not be surprising, as there was a commonly-held idea that slave owners had been kind, that slaves had been happy, and that the institution of slavery benefitted both races. This was a view held by whites both North and South, a fact demonstrated by the national popularity of Georgia-born U. B. Phillips, whose *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929) offered a scholarly version of this perception of slavery.¹⁸

Many of Georgia’s bicentennial county histories accepted this view without question. James Flanigan’s description of the Gwinnett county slave as “a contented, well-fed and happy negro” was typical.¹⁹ Slavery was often seen as beneficial to blacks as well as whites. “The evolution of a savage race into a state of ordinary civilization must necessarily be under the close guidance of a

superior people,” wrote the Chattahoochee County historian. “In no way could this be accomplished more rapidly than through the system of slavery under humane masters.”²⁰

The description of slavery in the Marion County volume is especially interesting: “The negroes belonging to the plantation lived in small cabins, generally built in a row, and called the ‘negro quarters.’ The feeling between master and slave was usually of the happiest nature.... After the day’s labor [slaves] had their simple sports, such as dancing, playing the banjo and ‘possum hunting. They were fond of singing at their work. At night around their firesides, they would sing their melodies in rich musical voices.” This is noteworthy not only for the detail, but for its similarity to Lawton B. Evans’s *A History of Georgia for Use in Schools*: “The negroes belonging to the plantations lived in small houses, generally built in a row, and called the ‘negro quarters,’ or ‘the quarters.’ Being well treated, they were free from care, and were, therefore, happy, and devoted to their masters. After the day’s labor they had their simple sports, such as dancing, playing the banjo, and ‘possum hunting. They were fond of singing, even at their work. And at night, around the fire in ‘the quarters,’ or at their meeting houses, they would sing their melodies in rich, musical voices.” This similarity is instructive. It reinforces the fact that the county historians were not trained scholars, but it also shows how common this view of slavery was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Evans’s book was, for several years, the “official” Georgia history textbook, adopted by the state’s school textbook committee for use in the public schools.²¹

That books published in Georgia in the 1930s described slavery this way is hardly surprising. The unexpected thing is that there was actually a bit of dissension to this viewpoint. In the Gordon County history, Lulie Pitts wrote of “the ignominy of human slavery.” Victor Davidson, in his history of Wilkinson County, implicitly condemned slavery as he described class conflict in antebellum society: “When some big slave-owner desired a farm owned by a less fortunate neighbor who possessed no slaves or few of them and who refused to sell his lands, the large planter would instruct his slaves to make life miserable for his neighbor. And whenever his neighbor should leave home for a short while, he would invariably return to find his hogs or cows had gotten out and were devouring his choicest crops.... Thus many were forced to sell and move away to other counties.”²²

The most forceful dissenter from the consensus view was Sarah Gober Temple, Cobb County historian. While she noted that slaves in Cobb County

might have received “better treatment” than those in the larger plantation counties, Temple acknowledged, more explicitly than any other county historian, that the antebellum era

has been ... overcast with sentimentality. We are apt to look back upon it with that exaggerated romanticism which has so distorted the viewpoints of many writers who have told of times before the war. It has all become a somewhat confused medley of enormous white columned houses ... washed with sunlight by day and moonlight by night, endless boxwood hedges, flowers always blooming, beautiful and charming women composed almost entirely of curls and ruffles, gallant men, mahogany furniture, and numberless slaves. It has become legendary.... The imaginations of men have played about certain facts, certain periods, of history until actuality is covered with a brighter pattern than truth itself could give.²³

This is a good description of the Lost Cause, a southern interpretation of history that justified secession and the waging of war, explained the Confederacy’s defeat, and in general defended the South against its critics. Historian Alan T. Nolan identified several other “claims” of the Lost Cause, among them (as we saw above) that slaves had been happy, faithful, and well-treated; that slavery had not been the cause of the war; and that abolitionists (and, later, the champions of Radical Reconstruction) were crazed troublemakers. In the myth of the Lost Cause, Confederate soldiers became gallant knights, their leaders saints, and their countrymen--planters, common whites, and even slaves--unified supporters of the Confederate cause.²⁴ Many of the bicentennial county historians uncritically embraced the Lost Cause. We can see this not only in their discussion of slavery, but also in the way they portrayed the role of slavery in the coming of the Civil War, the unity of white southerners for the Confederate cause, and the nature of Reconstruction.

“All well posted people know that the old fight about the sovereign right of the State was the real cause leading up to the war,” wrote the Charlton County historian, “and the question of slavery was only an incident.” This perspective, downplaying the role of slavery as a cause of the Civil War, was shared by many of the county historians. “Emancipation of the slaves was not the cause of the War Between the States, as the merest school child knows,” wrote the Upson County historians; “State’s rights was the supreme principle for which Southern men were willing to sacrifice everything.”²⁵

There was also considerable agreement on the issue of white unity for the Confederate cause: “All the citizens of Chattahoochee, ... regardless of

their personal convictions, contributed of their time, their money, and their lives in this gigantic struggle”; “the people of [Charlton] county were, as a matter of course, loyal to the cause of the Confederacy”; “no people in the South were more patriotic and enthusiastic in the Confederate War than the men and women of Coffee County.”²⁶ Some historians acknowledged the fact that not all white Georgians supported the war. W. A. Covington, who called it “the Secession War,” noted that only South Carolina natives in Colquitt County initially supported withdrawal. He described the war in three steps: “Georgia went out; the Confederacy was organized; and 350,000 men lost their lives.” The historians of Upson County called the War “that tragic and cataclysmic upheaval instigated by superficially informed fanatics.” Sarah Temple was the only historian to mention the frequent female uprisings (David Williams and Teresa Williams called them “Women Rising”) that occurred throughout the state: in April 1863, a group of Cobb County women robbed a wagonload of goods, especially yarn.²⁷

Describing the years immediately after the war, most county historians offered variations on the theme that Reconstruction was a time when “vindictive Radical Republicans fastened black supremacy upon the defeated South, unleashing an orgy of corruption presided over by unscrupulous carpetbaggers, traitorous scalawags, and ignorant freedmen.”²⁸ The Hart County historian described how “an already subdued and humiliated people” were “trample[d] ... under the heel of northern despotism.” The volume on Marion County portrayed “the terrible era of Reconstruction” as a time of “painful and protracted humiliation.” Some historians emphasized the (perceived) adverse effect that Emancipation had on the freedpeople. “Freedom gave them the idea that they had equal rights with their former masters,” wrote Mrs. H. J. Williams of Schley County. “This caused them to become idle and insolent. So rude was their behavior that ... bands of white robed night riders were formed, called the Ku Klux Klan.” In his history of Fulton County, Walter Cooper complained that former slaves “left the fields and congregated in the suburbs of towns and cities where they lived in vagabondage and want, which soon resulted in theft, disorder and disease.”²⁹

Again, this was the accepted interpretation of Reconstruction among many white Americans, both North and South. (*The Birth of a Nation* might be called a cinematographic version on this tradition.) It is often called the “Dunning School,” after William Archibald Dunning, a historian who did for Reconstruction what U. B. Phillips did for slavery. The work of Dunning and his graduate students at Columbia University “strengthened and helped

perpetuate” the “prevailing prejudices” about Reconstruction.³⁰ And again, a few of the Georgia bicentennial historians dissented from this consensus view. Lloyd Marlin noted that while Carpetbaggers in Cherokee County were “a generally worthless and wild-eyed crew,” they did “a finer thing for the children of Georgia than any previous government”: “authorizing the first system of public schools.” In Colquitt County, W. A. Covington wrote that the phrase “the Terrible Era of Reconstruction” is usually used “by politicians who consider themselves in danger.” Covington wrote that the “Reconstructionists” in Georgia “must be credited with giving the State an excellent judiciary, and with having placed the public school system in our fundamental law, where, of course, it will remain forever.” He noted also that the Reconstruction legislature had appropriated funds to pay for the educational expenses of “crippled and indigent soldiers.” “This was a long way ahead of the New Deal,” he concluded, “smacks strongly of socialism, and antedates by several years any pension system in the State of Georgia. Not bad for the ex-slaves and the ‘Scalawags.’”³¹

Implicit in the Lost Cause mythology is the idea that after Reconstruction, when the southern states were finally able to control their own race relations, blacks and whites got along well. The county historians generally ignored or barely mentioned such subjects as Jim Crow, disfranchisement, racial violence, and similar matters.³² In fact, someone reading these county histories today could easily imagine that race relations were wonderful in the bicentennial decade of the 1930s.³³ And while they had often complained about former slaves during Reconstruction, county historians now praised their African American neighbors.³⁴ According to Warren Ward, “The old-time people, black and white, in Coffee County are living in peaceful relations and will continue so long as other people will keep their noses out of our business,” a statement that combines a profession of good race relations with a longing for the past and a warning that the North should leave us alone.³⁵

While there was some variation in the books, most emphasized a particular view of Georgia history: the Lost Cause. This perspective of the past was a way of dealing with the defeat of the Civil War, but it also justified the present of the 1930s. The Lost Cause taught that white Georgians did not need to feel ashamed of their past. The “best” African Americans were those who remembered the civilizing influences of slavery. History shows that southern whites are the best friends Africans Americans have. And northern interference in these matters is not only unnecessary; it is actually harmful.

Georgia's bicentennial county histories are still available in public and college libraries. Many have been reprinted over the years for the benefit of genealogists and students of local history. The books are full of facts and lore, and often they are the most convenient (and sometimes the only) way of getting at parts of the past. But for us as historians, perhaps their greatest significance is as historic documents, telling us as much about the historians (and their audiences) as about the past they described.

Notes

1. "Histories of Counties," Law No. 36, Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1929, 1:1504-05.
2. Sam W. Small, "A Splendid Endeavor To Secure Data for a Future History of the State," *Atlanta Constitution*, 1 September 1929.
3. In March 1876, a joint resolution of Congress recommended that counties and towns "assemble ... on the approaching Centennial Anniversary of our National Independence, and that they cause to have delivered on such a day an historical sketch of said county or town from its formation." The historical sketches should then be deposited in county offices and the Library of Congress, so that "a complete record may thus be obtained of the progress of our institutions during the first centennial of their existence." United States Centennial Commission, *Appendix to the Reports of the United States Centennial Commission and Centennial Board of Finance* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1879), 116.
4. David G. Vanderstel, "County Historians," in *Encyclopedia of Local History*, ed. by Carol Kammen and Amy H. Wilson (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2012), 115-17; P. William Filby, *A Bibliography of American County Histories* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985), xi.
5. William MacDonald, "Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 21, Part 1 (October 1911): 272.
6. DMS [David M. Sherman, head of Historic Preservation Section] to Ken Thomas, memo, 29 October 1975, DOC 7086, County History Project Correspondence, Research Report Files, Historic Preservation Section, Parks and Historic Sites, Georgia Archives, Morrow, GA.
7. Alex. S. McQueen, *History of Charlton County* (Atlanta: Stein Printing Company, 1932), 169-70; Warren P. Ward, *Ward's History of Coffee County* (Atlanta: Press of Foote & Davies Co., 1930), 3; William P. Fleming, *Crisp County, Georgia: Historical Sketches*, Vol. 1 (Cordele: Ham Printing Company, 1932), [vii]; Clifford L.

Smith, *History of Troup County* (Atlanta: Printed by Foote & Davies Company, 1933), iii-iv; Victor Davidson, *History of Wilkinson County* (Macon: J. W. Burke Company, 1930), 496-97.

8. Rev. Lloyd G. Marlin, *The History of Cherokee County* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Co., 1932), xi; J. B. Clements, *History of Irwin County* (Atlanta: Foote & Davies Co., 1932), iii; Luke E. Tate, *History of Pickens County* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935), 307-08; John William Baker, *History of Hart County, 1933* (Atlanta: Printed by Foote & Davies, 1933), vi-vii; W. A. Covington, *History of Colquitt County* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies Company, 1937), 242-43; "W. G. Cooper Sr., Journalist, Dies," *Atlanta Constitution*, 18 May 1939.

9. Bertha Sheppard Hart, *The Official History of Laurens County, Georgia, 1807-1941* (Athens: John Laurens Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Printed by The McGregor Company, 1941), vii; Nettie Powell, *History of Marion County, Georgia* (Columbus: Historical Publishing Co., 1931), [iii]; Mary Harris Rowsey, "Georgia Author Evelyn Hanna Is Bookworm," *Atlanta Constitution*, 20 January 1942; "An Authoress Turns Columnist," *ibid.*, 28 May 1944; Josephine Hart Brandon, *Pages of Glory: Georgia's Documentary Heritage* (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1998), 119.

10. "Cobb County Saga Is Published Here," *Atlanta Constitution*, 20 August 1935; Ralph McGill, "Writes Cobb Co. History," *Atlanta Constitution*, 25 August 1935.

11. A list of the bicentennial books can be found (along with other county history sources) in Wayne Stewart Yenawine, "A Checklist of Source Materials for the Counties of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (September 1948): 179-229.

12. David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 71.

13. Ward, *Coffee County*, [i]; James Alfred Sartain, *History of Walker County, Georgia*, Vol. 1 (Dalton: A. J. Showalter Company, 1932), iv; N. K. Rogers, *History of Chattahoochee County, Georgia* (Columbus: Printed by Columbus Office Supply Co., 1933), [ii-iii]; Clements, *Irwin County*, 117.

14. Rogers, *Chattahoochee County*, [v].

15. Lulie Pitts, *History of Gordon County* (Calhoun: The Calhoun Times, 1933), 73.

16. Baker, *Hart County*, 24-33, 82 (poem).

17. Lamar and Marion Counties paid their historians \$50, and Irwin, \$65; at the other end of the spectrum, Cobb paid \$1,000 and Fulton paid \$4,800. Counties also sometimes helped with publication costs, usually with subsidies of \$300-500. In some

cases publication was underwritten by local historical or patriotic societies or by private donors. Wilkinson County's history was published by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Fulton County's with the "generous aid" of Jack J. Spalding, attorney and (later) president of the Atlanta Historical Society. "Appropriations for County Historians," December 1933, General Information, County Historians Files, County Historians Files, Records of the Director, Department of Archives and History, Georgia Archives, Morrow, GA. For the historians' concern over the financial situation, see David B. Parker, "'An Every-Ready Source of Inspiration and Information': Ruth Blair and Georgia's Bicentennial Historians," *Provenance: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 32 (2014): 83-85.

18. For a good discussion of Phillips's work and influence, see John David Smith and John C. Inscoe, eds., *Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: A Southern Historian and His Critics* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990).

19. James C. Flanigan, *History of Gwinnett County, Georgia, 1818-1943*, Vol. 1 (Hapeville, GA: Tyler & Company, 1943), 99. (The Gwinnett County volume was the last of the bicentennial histories to be published. The first county historian, appointed in 1930, collected materials for several years but suffered a debilitating stroke in 1937 without having written the history. Two years later, Flanigan was appointed historian.) The Dougherty County historian added that slaves there were "devoted to their masters' families and loyal to their masters' material interests." Slaves in Upson County "were treated very kindly indeed, and only in rare instances was there any trouble between slave and master." Thronateeska Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, *History and Reminiscences of Dougherty County, Georgia* (Albany: n.p., 1924), 363; Carolyn Walker Nottingham and Evelyn Hannah, *History of Upson County, Georgia* ([Macon, GA]: J. W. Burke Co., 1930), 690.

20. Rogers, *Chattahoochee County*, 34-35. Warren Ward concurred in his history of Coffee County: "The training the negroes received while they were slaves has been a great blessing to them." Ward, *Coffee County*, 221.

21. Powell, *Marion County*, 29-30; Lawton B. Evans's *A History of Georgia for Use in Schools* (New York: American Book Company, 1898), 189-90. For a discussion of Evans and Georgia history textbooks in general, see David B. Parker, "The Soldier, the Son, and the Social Scientist: Three Georgia Textbook Authors and the Lost Cause," *49th Parallel*, 33 (Winter 2014), available at <https://fortyninthparalleljournal.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/2-parkerwinter-the-solder-the-son.pdf>

22. Pitts, *Gordon County*, 28; Davidson, *Wilkinson County*, 206.

23. Sarah Blackwell Gober Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, in Georgia* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Pub. Co., 1935), 209.

24. Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," in Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 15-19.

25. McQueen, *Charlton County*, 58; Nottingham and Hannah, *Upson County*, 631. According to Luke Tate, of Pickens County, "The War Between the States was primarily the result, not of the slavery dispute, but of the economic pressure of high tariffs on the agricultural South, the attendant dispute over states' rights, and the attempt of the South to preserve a civilization fundamentally different, because largely based on slavery, from that of the North." Tate, *Pickens County*, 202.

26. Rogers, *Chattahoochee County*, 42; McQueen, *Charlton County*, 58; Ward, *Coffee County*, 141.

27. Covington, *Colquitt County*, 67, 26, 29; Nottingham and Hannah, *Upson County*, 700; Temple, *Cobb County*, 258; Teresa Crisp Williams and David Williams, "'The Women Rising': Cotton, Class, and Confederate Georgia's Rioting Women," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 49-83.

28. Eric Foner, "Reconstruction Revisited," *Reviews in American History* 10 (Dec. 1982): 82. This was the special issue of *RAH* that was published as Stanley I. Kutler and Stanley N. Katz, ed., *The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982). Foner was of course describing, not promoting, this view of Reconstruction.

29. Baker, *Hart County*, 150-51; Powell, *Marion County*, 66; Mrs. H. J. Williams, *History of Schley County* (Np., [1932]), 6; Walter G. Cooper, *Official History of Fulton County* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Pub. Co., 1934), 192.

30. John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery, eds., *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), xi.

31. Marlin, *Cherokee County*, 159; Covington, *Colquitt County*, 44-45.

32. Lucy Cunyus's history of Bartow County and W. A. Covington's of Colquitt mention a total of seven lynchings--in a total of two sentences. Lucy Josephine Cunyus, *The History of Bartow County, Formerly Cass* (Cartersville: Printed by Tribune Pub. Co., 1933), 275-76; Covington, *Colquitt County*, 227. The Coweta county history offered a page and a half on the dedication of a Confederate monument in 1885, and only four lines on the lynching of Sam Hose, which attracted some two thousand white spectators in 1899 (and which brought "undeserved and undesired nationwide publicity" to the town of Newnan). Lily Reynolds and Mary G. Jones, *Coweta County Chronicles for One Hundred Years* (Atlanta: The Stein Printing Company, 1928), 267-68, 336.

33. "Excellent relations exist between white and colored" in Lamar County, it

was reported, and the Laurens County historian noted that “the relation between the races is one of mutual help, confidence and dependence.” Mrs. Augusta Lambdin and Mrs. Edward A. Fish, eds., *History of Lamar County* (Barnesville: Barnesville News-Gazette, 1932), 54; Hart, *Laurens County*, 261.

34. In Bartow County, “although the ‘old time darkey’ has gone and slavery is no more, the Negro presents himself a useful and friendly neighbor, and many retain and demonstrate the kindly qualities of the other days.” “The negroes of Upson County are of a very high type,” according to that county’s historians. The Chattahoochee volume contained a three-page section on “Worthy Citizens of the Negro Race” and bragged that “the negroes of the county compare favorably with the best of their race in this state.” Pulaski County also claimed “the best set of well-behaved and law-abiding Negroes in Georgia.” Cunyus, *Bartow County*, 276; Nottingham and Hannah, *Upson County*, 700; Rogers, *Chattahoochee County*, 394-96; Hawkinsville Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, *History of Pulaski County: Official History* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935), 85.

35. Ward, *Coffee County*, 222.